THE NEW REPUBLIC

## A Berlin Settlement

*Chancellor Adenauer's intuition in early 1959 that "there will be no war over Berlin, for the Russians do not want war" (nor does the West, he might have added) has an even truer ring today. The crisis is not on ice, but it is no longer boiling. Slowly, laboriously, the major Western powers are defining what they will and won't negotiate. While still in the White House, Herr Adenauer wrote a letter which was forwarded to President de Gaulle by special envoy; and health permitting, the German Chancellor will have followed this up by meeting with de Gaulle, endeavoring to win him over to a united diplomatic front on Berlin. Meanwhile, a similar effort has been made by Prime Minister Macmillan. The results of these inter-allied conferences will be submitted to NATO at its annual meeting in the middle of December, and only then will the US Ambassador in Moscow have a precise mandate to guide him in the next round of exploratory talks with the Russians. These in turn may lead to a Foreign Ministers Conference between East and West. We have seen again during these past months how strenuously the Western powers must labor to construct a platform from which to address the Russians on a matter in which each of the allies has a vital interest. There are personalities as well as policies that must be reconciled. President de Gaulle's vanity can never be left out of account; moreover, he has had his mind on troubles other than Berlin. Adenauer's strength has suffered a serious decline – intellectually, politically and physically. (He ran a temperature during his entire stay in Washington and his personal physician, Dr. Ella Bebber-Buch, had to be flown over to accompany him on his return to Bonn.) Up until recently, the West Germans, while not as adamant as de Gaulle, had been ambiguous about the value of any negotiations. That*

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# T.R.B. *from Washington*

*When the Boys Get Together*

★ It will be interesting to be in Judge Jacob Mishler's court in New York December 15. He is a US District judge and on that day he will hear attorneys for four leading companies and some of their officials tell why he should be lenient. Then he will sentence them.

The companies and the executives are respectable; they have been caught dead to rights in a new anti-trust case. It is smaller than the electric case last winter but it has its unusual features.

Back in 1952 two of the companies, Liquid Carbonic Corporation (which is now a unit of giant General Dynamics) and the smaller Air Reduction Company joined in a consent decree in which they promised to be good boys and not fix prices any more on carbon dioxide gas. This gas is important in refrigerators and is increasingly used as a missile fuel. Hardly was the ink dry on the decree, the government charges, when the two companies began conspiring again.

Last December the Eisenhower Administration brought the two companies to book. Their defense? – there was none. They and four executives pleaded "guilty." Now Judge Mishler decides the penalty for renewed price-fixing and for criminal contempt.

Two other companies are involved. Giant Olin Mathieson and the smaller Chemetron Corporation joined the conspiracy. They, too, made no defense – just threw in the sponge with a *nolo contendere*. They didn't sign the original decree and the interesting legal point now is whether Judge Mishler should find them equally guilty with the first two; the government argues they are all in the same boat because everybody knew about the court's order. The case is of more interest for other reasons. Consent decrees have been a pleasant and inexpensive route for big companies to fix prices and then pay light fines, much as a motorist caught speeding forfeits collateral and drives on. Little or no social stigma was attached to it until Judge Ganey last February in Philadelphia jailed defendants and opened the way for triple damage suits.

What will Judge Mishler do?

The matter also bears on recent vague charges that the Kennedy Administration is "anti-business." David Lawrence's *US News & World Report* in September, for example, under the heading "Business and Kennedy – Why a Growing Rift" cites one explanation – "Suspicion that anti-trust laws are being used to harass business." Businessmen are sensitive under Democratic presidents. Most leaders agree that anti-trust laws should be enforced; it is the vague "harassment" they resent. What is harassment? – why, enforcing anti-trust laws.

It is noted here that both the electrical and now the carbon dioxide suits were begun under Eisenhower. But still it is Kennedy business fears. At the root of it seems to be apprehension over possible loss of prestige. Sending those seven executives of General Electric, and the others, to jail in Philadelphia produced a kind of traumatic shock. The convicted men, as their lawyers pleaded, belonged to the best clubs, sent daughters to fine schools, were pillars of society. No doubt it was a personal tragedy. And it also meant you couldn't conspire to rig prices any more, and slip out of it just by getting a comfortable decree.

*Racketeers or Disciples?*

★ Kennedy's anti-trust head is short, attractive, energetic Lee Loevinger, former Associate Justice of the Minnesota Supreme Court. When the electrical executives were sentenced Loevinger called the violators economic racketeers; they should be treated as criminals, not respectable businessmen, he declared.

This, I think, is what really burns up the businessmen. The aura of sanctity has been a long while developing. The feeling of righteousness and superiority that glazes the eyes at chamber of commerce lunches is deep-seated. Way back in 1902 in a coal strike, the owners' spokesman, George Baer said, "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interest of this country."

People don't talk that way any more – yet Henry Ford was a folk hero, and the theologian of the cult, the advertising man Bruce Barton (whose book, *The Man Nobody Knows* was a 1925 best seller) made Christ a dynamic businessman and his disciples the board of directors. Business claims have been diluted since then but the assumption still is (as made by President Murphy of Campbell Soup last month), that businessmen don't think merely in terms of gain – there is that intangible mystique – "service" and the guardianship of America's holy fire, free enterprise, against onslaughts of centralized government.

*Hollywood Has an Answer*

★ An example of service came recently in the Hollywood Bowl rally of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. It was put on TV as "Hollywood's Answer to Communism." It was a far-right political camp meeting at which, oddly enough, C. D. Jackson, the publisher of *Life*, stepped forward and beat his breast as a convert. He publicly apologized for the nasty things *Life* had been saying about the Crusade. Well, who picked up the tab for this show? The Shick Safety Razor Company, the Technicolor Corporation, Richfield Oil, and others. You can see how business protects us; it is doing so all the time.

There are scoffers, of course. Yale Law School Dean Eugene Rostow says corporation directors owe single-minded legal duty to stockholders. If the essence of corporate statesmanship, as is now declared, is to seek less than maximum profits, postwar experience, he says, "is eloquent evidence that such statesmanship leads to serious malfunctioning of the economy as a whole." Well, never mind that now. It will be interesting to see what Judge Mishler does in court next month. And there are other cases to come.

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## A Berlin Settlement

has changed. As a result of the White House meetings, the Chancellor is on record as favoring a new document, treaty or statute for Berlin which, while not erasing allied rights of conquest, would be a "configuration" of the *status quo;* the old would be absorbed in the new. If accepted by the Soviets, this document would pledge the four powers to respect allied rights of access to West Berlin, the freedom of the city, the military presence of France, Britain and the US, as well as the preservation of political links between Berlin and Bonn. These rights would presumably be written first into an agreement between East and West, and thereafter incorporated in whatever peace treaty the Russians sign with East Germany. So long as the new statute is respected, the "rights of conquest" which stem from the allied victory in World War II would remain dormant. Should the new agreement be violated, they might be invoked to justify a return to the *status quo ante.*

The Kennedy-Adenauer talks also confirm that, on German insistence, negotiations will be limited to Berlin. Originally, a broader agenda had been considered, including proposals for German reunification and European security. But reunification as a negotiable aim has been ruled out as unrealistic at present; and the idea of offering zones of demilitarization or the thinning out of military forces in Central Europe or guarantees against surprise attack in this region as inducements to the Russians have been put to one side as being either passé or premature.

What may prove the stickiest point in future talks with Moscow is Bonn's wish to strengthen its ties with West Berlin, ties which the Russians, of course, want to sever completely. No firm allied understanding on this matter has yet been reached. For their part, the West Germans point out that there are many agencies of the Bonn Government in Berlin which cannot be withdrawn without undermining the morale of West Berliners; that the Bundestag has met occasionally in Berlin; and that 20 representatives from Berlin sit (without vote) in the Bonn parliament. If these common institutions are weakened, Bonn argues, the isolation of Berlin and its ultimate absorption by the Communists cannot be prevented. To the US Government, these links do not appear so essential to the "viability" of Berlin; consequently it is more willing to consider some compromise.

Although it is plain, therefore, that there is still less than full allied agreement on every detail of a "Berlin plan," the outline of a consensus is becoming visible: The West is evidently prepared to accept, as a matter of fact, "the wall," which means *de facto* acceptance of the incorporation of East Berlin into the Communist German state. (This acceptance should not preclude, however, a Western demand that the Communists permit Berlin families to be reunited, on which-

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ever side of the wall they choose.) The allies may be prepared also to tolerate East German officials as traffic cops for allied military personnel on the *autobahns* leading from the West to Berlin. "Contacts" on a limited scale with East Germans are envisaged, such as all-German committees on technical, though not political, questions. This is significant, for it means that Bonn is coming to appreciate that the only hope for reunification – both war and the instigation of uprisings in the East having been ruled out – lies in "peaceful penetration"; that is, "unofficial" but officially-sanctioned approaches to the Eastern regime. These contacts would not imply "recognition" of a sovereign East Germany. Yet in time, and especially were Herr Ulbricht to be replaced by a more moderate East German "Gomulka," communications between the two Germanys might widen and multiply. A treaty of non-aggression between the Atlantic Pact nations and those in the Warsaw Pact likewise cannot now be ruled out.

But the Washington talks achieved something more than a compromise position which has dissuaded the German Chancellor from avoiding or boycotting negotiations. They put a damper on recriminations among the allies. Exasperation on both sides of the Atlantic had been growing. The Americans were not to be "blackmailed" by Bonn; Bonn was not to be sacrificed to American aversion to risking too much for Berlin. The Germans, especially the Berliners, have been impatient with what they consider an overly-conciliatory tone in US diplomacy. They complained of the "softness" of broadcasts by the American radio station in Berlin, RIAS, during the week after the wall went up, and of their fear the US might renege on its traditional commitment to the restoration of Berlin as the capital of a united Germany. On the other hand, the fear was heard in the West that another "Rapallo" is around the corner – that since it is the Russians and not the West who hold East Germany hostage, a future Bonn Government might find it expedient to make a deal with the East, refurbishing the German-Soviet treaty of neutrality and non-aggression signed in 1926 in which both parties agreed to have no part in any economic or financial measure against the other – a treaty which was renewed by the Bruening Government in 1931, by Hitler in 1933 and which became the basis of the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939.

If that history does repeat itself – and in this instance it is surely Khrushchev's most earnest hope that it will – the other Western powers must take a share of the blame themselves. For what was said in the summer of 1956 by Alfred Grossner, a lecturer at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris, could be said today: "The greatest weakness of the Western camp in Europe [is] the lack of real and lasting trust between partners who in theory are bound by countless treaties and agreements. This lack of trust leads each country to reproach the other in contradictory terms. The French are not conferring with Moscow? Then they are not making any endeavor to bring about reunification. They are conferring with Moscow? Then it is in order to secure benefits at the cost of keeping Germany divided. The Germans are speeding up rearmament? Just like those Germans to make trouble when everything was quiet! They are not speeding it up? There you are, as usual the Germans do not keep their promises! German diplomacy refuses to negotiate with the East? How they love the Cold War! They are talking of negotiating? Then they mean treachery."

These demons of Rapallo and of the Nazi era are not easily exorcised. Yet politically, economically and militarily West Germany has surely shown the sincerity of its will to work within the Atlantic Community. On that the future must be built. The Kennedy-Adenauer talks illustrate once again that a partnership among free nations cannot thrive without mutual accommodation and confidence in each partner's integrity.

# Reorganization at State

"Sending a memo to the State Department," a White House adviser lamented earlier this year, "is like putting it into a bottle, throwing it into the sea and hoping it will wash up on shore someday." Dissatisfied with the bureaucratic inertia in Foggy Bottom, the Kennedy Administration passed over a number of senior career officers for top Ambassadorships as well as for a few key Assistant Secretary and Deputy Assistant Secretary posts. Most of the non-career appointments were left in the hands of Chester Bowles, newly appointed as Undersecretary. There were few if any White House complaints on how he handled that job.

The irony of the present situation is that Mr. Bowles himself has been actively promoting many of the top-level personnel shifts in State that were made by the President last week, along with his dismissal of Bowles as Undersecretary – Averell Harriman in place of Walter McConaughy as Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, Walt W. Rostow as Chairman of the Policy Planning Council, George C. McGhee as Undersecretary for Political Affairs and Richard Goodwin as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs.

The reasons why Mr. Bowles has been made the fall guy are easier to find than to justify. One is the personal distaste of some in the White House and in the Department for what they consider his lack of terseness and concreteness. Another is that Bowles with his publicized liberal views has provided a target for anti-Administration snipers from the Right at home and abroad. There have been the Scripps-Howard col-



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umns of Henry Taylor charging Red infiltration of the Department under Bowles' aegis. And certain governments (*e.g.*, Nationalist China) have blamed Mr. Bowles for their troubles in Washington. In a Tokyo press conference last month, Mr. Bowles spoke of the Chinese Communists as posing an "aggressive threat to the independence of 11 million people on Formosa," which implied that the US thinks of Formosa as Formosa, rather than as China, and prompted an angry response on November 18 in the *United Daily News* of Taipei: "We earnestly wish that President Kennedy . . . would take immediate action to stop Bowles from further making similar statements and at the same time consider changing his present position."

But one suspects that there is a psychological explanation for Mr. Bowles' plight. He has too often, too evidently rather been right. And the mere fact that he warned against the Cuban landings and was then publicly credited for his prescience in and of itself diminished his standing as "one of the gang."

The most charitable explanation of his dismissal is that the President has decided on policies in Berlin, Laos, Vietnam, even Cuba with which Bowles would in essence agree and hopes to confound potential critics by roughing up one of the best-known New Frontier appointees. But what of Bowles? A public figure of his experience is a national asset; the personal qualities which annoy bureaucrats busily clicking off the day's routine have endeared him to many throughout the world. As *The Washington Post* editorialized on July 18, "The impression made by most of the criticism of Mr. Bowles is that his most grievous offense is that he is still Chester Bowles. It is pretty hard for him not to be that." It should not be so very hard, however, for the President, if he so wishes, to convince the public and the State Department that Mr. Bowles in his new role as Special Representative and Adviser on Asia, Africa and Latin America is going to be effectively used and that his counsel will be respected.

# Financing Educational TV

In 1952 the FCC set aside channels in some 250 cities for a non-commercial, educational television (ETV) service, which would appeal to cultural tastes to which commercial broadcasters could give only an occasional howdy-do. Almost 10 years later only 56 educational stations are on the air. This is because in most cities (including New York, Los Angeles and Washington, the three key markets which must be included in any nationwide ETV systems), all the available "standard," or Very High Frequency channels (2-13) had already been assigned to commercial outlets. In these cities, the ETV reservations were made in the

## *The Voices of America*

"So far as the effects of United States nuclear tests are concerned, the finding of scientists is that radioactive fallout from these tests does not constitute a serious health hazard at the present time."
– *Voice of America*, March 27, 1957

". . . Said Mr. Lodge, 'the danger to the world lies in the possible use of the nuclear weapons, and not in some small addition to natural radiation because of testings'. The danger of radiation from the tests, he said, is 'slight'. . . ."
– *Voice of America*, October 11, 1957

*August 31, 1961 – the Soviet Union announces its resumption of nuclear testing.*

"Resumption of nuclear tests means fallout, which can bring suffering and death not only to present generations but also to those yet unborn. . . . For radioactive fallout is a danger which does not recognize political, national or racial differences. It crosses all frontiers and affects all people. The milk which Russian children drink is just as apt to be loaded with Strontium 90 – which will destroy their bones – as the milk drunk by American children." – *Voice of America*, September 4, 1961

*September 5, 1961 – the US announces that it will resume testing, but only underground.*

". . . The testing above the ground of nuclear devices can jeopardize the health of people everywhere. The debris, or fallout, from such explosions can induce such diseases as blood cancer, bone cancer, and other fatal ills. More than that, we are told that it is likely that diseases resulting from excessive radiation would be inherited and passed along from generation to generation. . . . Testing in the United States, however, is confined to underground blasts and thus the radioactive debris is safely sealed beneath the earth and there is no fallout to jeopardize the health of anybody anywhere." – *Voice of America*, October 17, 1961

*November 3, 1961 – President Kennedy orders preparations for possible US resumption of tests above the ground.*

"As long as there is no controlled test-ban treaty, the United States must reserve the right to stage tests, atmospheric or otherwise, if the security of the free world – for which this country is in so large part responsible – demands it."
– *Voice of America*, November 4, 1961



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Ultra High Frequency band (channels 18-83), which most sets were not – and still are not – equipped to receive. Few educational organizations wished to inaugurate a service no one could watch.

Now FCC Chairman Newton Minow, speaking before the Convention of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters in Washington, has asked that group's support of two bills pending in Congress whose passage would alleviate this situation.

Since, as Minow noted, it is absurd that because of "an additional expenditure of $30 or less, the public is denied access to seven-eighths of the public airwaves," one measure would require manufacturers to include all-channel tuners in their receivers. This, incidentally, would also provide enough new receivable channels for the establishment of a fourth, fifth or even sixth commercial network, and thus break the current three-chain monopoly of ABC, CBS and NBC.

The other, the Magnuson Bill, which passed the Senate but has been killed for four straight years by the House Rules Committee – where it is once again pending – would allocate up to a million dollars of federal funds to each state on the basis of a matching formula, to help construct educational TV stations.

But even if more ETV stations were built and more sets could receive their programs, this still leaves the question of where ETV will get the money to cover its year-to-year programming costs. (ETV outlets are expressly forbidden by the terms of their licenses to accept any advertising revenues.) Although the average station may spend only a quarter-of-a-million dollars a year to finance a 52-week schedule – or about the same as is spent by sponsors to put on one single hour network special – sufficient subsidy has not been forthcoming. A good deal of what has been made available so far has come from the Ford Foundation. It was Ford's hope that if it sweetened the pot initially, a few more sugar-daddies might show up. This expectation, for the most part, has not been realized.

# Something Nice for the Wife

Cynical jokes about the police force have been circulating in Denver since mid-summer. They come in the wake of continuing waves of revelations of burglars operating within the ranks of the city's uniformed police. Members of the rings cased jobs while patroling in squad cars; broke into stores and blasted open safes while on-duty confederates stood guard; and then briskly investigated the crimes the next day, destroying as they went any tell-tale clues left in haste the night before. More than a score have pleaded guilty or been so found in jury trials. Since reports on their crimes were often incompletely made out or subsequently mislaid, it's hard to pinpoint just how much the safe-crackers took.

Perhaps the saddest discovery of all is that often it was the store owner who made the first offer, who almost foisted the merchandise on the policemen. It's obviously not just a problem of police venality when a cop investigating a robbery is told by the merchant: "Why not take something nice home for your wife? It's all covered by insurance anyway."

# Soviet Anti-Semitism

Whatever "de-Stalinization" may come to mean for the majority of Russians, Stalin's policy of enforced isolation and repression of the Jewish minority – now more than 3 million – is still in the ascendancy. The present case concerns the arrest in early October of three prominent Jewish lay figures, including the venerable leader of the Leningrad Jewish Community, G. R. Pechersky, who were tried secretly and sentenced on October 19 to prison terms varying from 4 to 12 years. The trial was not officially announced until a month later, under pressure of foreign criticism, and no evidence was brought forward that the accused had formed "criminal ties" with a foreign Embassy. The Embassy in question – the Israel Embassy, often under attack for alleged subversive activities – denies any connection with the accused, and other highly placed observers on the scene have regarded the charges as groundless. Some further light is shed on the case, however, by noting that the arrests followed shortly after a public demonstration outside the Leningrad synagogue during the High Holy-days at the beginning of October, when thousands of Jews gathered to take part in the festivities, thereby committing the crime of "ethnic separatism."

The purges of 1948-53, culminating in Stalin's fantastic "Doctors Plot," began on a similar pretext. At that time, September, 1948, an unprecedented spontaneous demonstration took place before the Moscow synagogue in honor of the first Israeli Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mrs. Golda Meir. In the years following there was a concerted campaign to destroy what remained of Soviet Jewish culture, including the secret arrest and execution of numerous cultural leaders, the abolition of cultural institutions and the closing of synagogues. The 1948 demonstration took place during the brief era of Soviet support for the nascent state of Israel – support which may have encouraged Soviet Jews to think that a demonstration of sympathy would not be amiss. The recent demonstration of ethnic cohesion in Leningrad took place in an era of official liberalization, which probably had a similar effect. Soviet Jews apparently guessed wrong both times.



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THERE IS A LESSON FOR NEUTRALS IN KHRUSHCHEV'S DEMANDS

# Soviet Pressure on Finland

*London*

Ever since Khrushchev first asked Finland for military consultations a fortnight ago Western diplomats have been puzzling over his motives. The move seemed inconsistent with the general trend of policy since the end of the 22nd Communist Party Congress and the conclusion of the current series of bomb tests. Mr. Khrushchev's conversations with the West German Ambassador, Herr Kroll, suggested an anxiety on the Soviet side to start negotiations with the West as soon as possible over Berlin.

In Washington the most popular theory is that precisely because Khrushchev has failed to rattle the West over Berlin and has therefore been compelled to drop his ultimatum, he is trying to cover his retreat on the central issue by putting pressure on the Western flanks – today in Finland, tomorrow perhaps in Iran. There may well be something in this explanation – it accords well with the advice once given by Raymond Chandler to the budding writer of detective stories: "When your plot is hopelessly snarled up, have someone come through the window with a gun!"

There may also be more specific reasons for the sudden pressure on Finland. Khrushchev may have feared President Kekkonen would lose power in Helsinki to a less punctilious neutralist unless Russia loudly cracks the whip. Perhaps the Soviet strategy has succeeded. Kekkonen's opponent has withdrawn from the Presidential race "in the national interest," and Kekkonen's advice that anti-Russian politicians withdraw from Parliament may also have some effect. The decision to dissolve Parliament and hold elections in January also suggests Kekkonen's readiness to exploit the international crisis to strengthen his domestic hand.

Whether Khrushchev's demands will also strengthen the Soviet strategic position elsewhere in Scandinavia is harder to tell. Khrushchev may have made limited gains in Finland, but the implied use of Finland as a hostage *vis-à-vis* the Scandinavian members of NATO could backfire. If Norway and Denmark now stand firm, and Khrushchev then tightens the screw on Finland the result will be not only to bind them still more firmly to NATO but also to strengthen those forces in Sweden which want closer association with the Western alliance.

There may be internal factors too behind Khrushchev's move. If, as I personally believe, the nuclear bomb tests represented a price demanded by the Soviet generals for supporting him in his new campaign against Stalinism and the anti-Party group, there may also be military pressures behind the demands on Finland. Some experts believe that Khrushchev wants to build up the Finnish airforce with Soviet aircraft and instructors. And it is conceivable that in the tangled undergrowth of Communist Party power politics the veteran Finnish member of the Soviet Presidium, Otto Kuusinen, has made Khrushchev's new demands the price of his support; or that the move is a punishment for his lack of support!

But although the "whys" of this affair may be obscure, the outside world should at least draw the obvious conclusions – for they are highly relevant to the great political debate which is raging both in the uncommitted world and in the NATO countries. For the last 15 years Finland has been a showpiece for neutralists – a symbol of Russia's readiness to tolerate independence and democracy in a strategically important neighbor state, provided that state was scrupulously careful to maintain absolute neutrality in its external policies. The extent of Soviet toleration was remarkable even under Stalin, when the Finns were able to remove Communist Ministers from key positions in their government and so avoid the fate of Czechoslovakia. It is ironic, indeed, that at a moment when Khrushchev is strenuously attacking Stalin and Molotov for their rigidity in foreign policy he should show himself tougher than either of them in his policy toward neutral Finland.

The present ordeal of Finland is the strongest possible argument against the type of neutralism which believes that membership in Western military alliances is of itself a provocation to the Soviet Union, and that an impartial neutrality is the only possible basis for protecting the security of a small country. For the fact is that a neutral country with a powerful neighbor will be compelled to accept that neighbor's definition of what is neutral and what is provocative. Indeed Finland's only real protection against Soviet demands at this moment – other than the threat of a hopeless and suicidal war – is Khrushchev's possible fear that excessive pressure will consolidate all the rest of Scandinavia against him in alliance with the West. The best service that her democratic neighbors can render Finland today is to convince Khrushchev that such a fear would be fully justified.

DENIS HEALEY



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# He's Developing a Wallop

As viewed from this angle, Our Boy is looking better in the Battle of the Century.

It can be admitted, now, that Kennedy climbed into the ring overconfident. What wonder? He had done brilliantly in his previous fights, and not against any set-ups, either. In his first big-time bout he took on Lodge, the Massachusetts Mauler, and knocked him through the ropes. Then he met in rapid succession the much more formidable triumvirate of Truman, Stevenson and Johnson, and levelled them all. After that, he climaxed his career by administering a technical KO to Nixon, the Rogue Elephant. With this record behind him it was natural for him to feel, like the exhilarated customer in the bar-room, that he could lick any man in the house, up to and including Old Man Presidency.

That's where he took in too much territory. Those others are good enough boys, but the Old Man is the Champ, and what a difference there is! More than that, he is not a fair fighter. Old Man Presidency has a horseshoe in each glove, the Communist Menace in his right, and Malignant Fate in his left. The handlers had barely cleared the ring before he flattened Kennedy with that Cuban blow, continued to pepper him with short jabs, and presently let him have it again with that first Russian bomb test. That put Our Boy down for the count of eight, and some of us were about ready to throw in the towel, but he got up off the canvas just in time.

So the round continued until the Old Man cut loose with the deadly right in a haymaker starting from his shoelaces – the Russian 50-megaton bomb. By all known rules that should have lifted Kennedy clean over the ropes and dumped him among the spectators, ending the bout then and there. But it didn't. Our Boy stayed on his feet, groggy, and weaving uncertainly for a moment, but not down, indeed a long way from being down. So he looks better. When he can roll with a punch like that, no Kennedy backer feels like coppering his bet. At least not yet.

He is taking a lot of punishment, though. There is not a shadow of doubt about it. Swiftly after the second bomb the Old Man stepped in with a left cross – the death of Sam Rayburn – that may have been the wickedest blow as yet struck. In that one Kennedy felt the impact of Malignant Fate. It took him in the wind, and that kind of blow is often more serious than a knockdown because it cuts a man's stamina, and its full effect may not show up until the next round. How badly Our Boy is hurt we cannot know until the next session of Congress, but it doesn't look too good. To deal with Congress without Rayburn's help is no attractive prospect.

The fact remains, though, that Kennedy's foot-work is a hundred percent better than it was in January. Nor are the Kennedy backers cheered solely by the fact that their favorite seems to be gathering speed rather than slowing down. He is also developing a wallop. The Seattle speech, in which he went for the John Birchites and the rest of the fantastic garrison of Fortress America was more than lightning fast; it carried a warhead, and no dummy, either. And it landed right on the chosen spot.

That, in fact, is much the strongest reason for claiming that Kennedy looks better. His first six months were too bland. A good President is never a good fellow – not altogether. Sir Oliver's comment on Joseph Surface applies even more closely to a President: "Everybody speaks well of him! Psha! then he has bowed as low to knaves and fools as to the honest dignity of genius and virtue."

In Seattle the President of the United States did no bowing and scraping whatever. There he took cognizance of the fact that there exist among us those who aspire to be Simon Legree without bearing the name – who would revert to chattel slavery, but call it true Americanism – and far from courting their favor, he invited their enmity. That's raising what Washington would have called "a standard to which the wise and honest can repair." That's leadership. Of course, it's no guarantee of success. The ablest soothsayer cannot be certain of the outcome.

For some weeks past the political pundits, especially those who lay claim to inside information, have been commenting practically unanimously on the rising tide of extreme conservatism. Doubtless they are right. But here is a prediction, based exclusively on outside information that every newspaper reader has, that the Seattle speech has made liberals sit up with a jerk; and that if Our Boy follows it up with three or four comparable blows liberalism will not only rise, but come to its feet with a yell that will deafen the John Birchites in this country and wake the babies in Moscow.



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# Explanation, Please

*by Anthony Lewis*

The highest function of the Supreme Court is to explain. It would be quicker, and less arduous, if the Justices "decided" each case simply by announcing which side had won. But that would not be what our tradition means by a judicial decision. We expect reasoned explanation of why the Court has reached its result – explanation which will illuminate the issues, educate the bar and the public and, hopefully, satisfy the parties to the particular case that their claims have had fair consideration.

In recent years the Court has been criticized on occasion for failing to provide such reasoned explanation. The critics have usually been scholars, not disaffected politicians. Their target has been what professors Alexander M. Bickel and Harry H. Wellington of Yale Law School called, in a memorable if inelegant phrase, "opinions that do not opine." On November 6 the Court handed down an opinion that was a singular example of this species. It was the sort of case that hardly anyone would ordinarily notice. But notice is due.

The case concerned a Kansas statute and rules of the state Supreme Court which effectively restrict the right of Kansas lawyers who practice in other states to practice in their own. Under the rules any lawyer who is "regularly engaged in the practice of law" in any other state may not be "recognized as an attorney by the courts, commissions and agencies of this state" unless he has "associated with him as attorney of record" what the state court called a "resident attorney" – presumably a Kansan unsullied by practice elsewhere.

These restrictions were challenged by Keith Martin, a lawyer who lives in Mission, Kan. Mr. Martin went to school in Kansas and is a graduate of Kansas University Law School. He has had an office at his home in Mission since 1948. He is a member of the Kansas bar and a member of the state Board of Tax Appeals. Since 1951 he has been city attorney of Mission.

Mr. Martin also has an office and practices just across the state line in Kansas City, Mo. He estimates that he makes about half his annual income of $15,000 in Kansas and half in Missouri.

Making him hire co-counsel, Mr. Martin complained, led his clients to think him ignorant of Kansas law. He noted that minimum fee schedules enforced by local bar associations would make him pay a third to half his fee to the other lawyer, no matter how little he did. He attacked the statute and court rules as a denial of his 14th Amendment right to the equal protection of the laws.

The decision was 6 to 2 against Mr. Martin. Justice Charles Evans Whittaker, who comes from Kansas City, sat at the argument and displayed considerable shock at the rules, but he took no part in the decision. Justice William O. Douglas wrote a dissent that was joined by Justice Hugo L. Black. Chief Justice Earl Warren concurred only in the result.

Five Justices joined, then, in the opinion of the Court. This was an unsigned opinion, in the lawyer's term a *per curiam*, for the whole court. It read in its entirety as follows:

> The appeal is dismissed for want of a substantial federal question. Upon plenary consideration, we are satisfied that, both on their face and as applied to appellant, Kansas General Statute, 1949, § 7-104, and amended Kansas Supreme Court Rules 41 and 54 promulgated by the Supreme Court of Kansas, acting within its competence under state law, were not beyond the allowable range of state action under the Fourteenth Amendment. See, *e. g.*, *Dent* v *West Virginia*, 129 US 114; *Graves* v *Minnesota*, 272 US 425; *Schware* v *Board of Bar Examiners*, 353 US 232, 239; *Hitchcock* v *Collenberg*, 353 US 919; *Kovrak* v *Ginsburg*, 358 US 52. We cannot disregard the reasons given by the Kansas Supreme Court for the Rules in question. 187 Kansas 473. Nor does the fact that the Rules may result in "incidental individual inequality" make them offensive to the Fourteenth Amendment. *Phelps* v *Board of Education*, 300 US 319, 324.

The first question raised in the reader's mind is how a constitutional question of which the Court has taken jurisdiction, on which it has heard argument and which it is now deciding on the merits over two dissents can be called insubstantial. But putting that to one side, let us try to discover what the Justices decided, examining the opinion sentence by sentence.

One thing is made clear by the first sentence: Mr. Martin lost. The second simply states the Court's conclusion: The Kansas rules are constitutional. But why?

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Perhaps the five cited cases that follow hold the answer.

The *Dent* case, decided in 1889, held that the states might constitutionally fix educational qualifications for doctors. *Graves* was to the same effect, but for dentists. The *Schware* case was the notable 1957 decision that New Mexico could not exclude an applicant from its bar because he had been a Communist many years earlier. The principal language on the particular page cited from the *Schware* case is as follows:

> "A State can require high standards of qualification, such as good moral character or proficiency in its law, before it admits an applicant to the bar, but any qualification must have a rational connection with the applicant's fitness or capacity to practice law. . . . Even in applying permissible standards, officers of a State cannot exclude an applicant when there is no basis for their finding that he fails to meet those standards, or when their action is invidiously discriminatory."

The last two citations in the string turn out, when one looks them up, to be opinionless opinions themselves – *per curiams* with no words of explanation. *Hitchcock* reads as follows: "The motion to affirm is granted and the judgment is affirmed. *Taylor* v *Rutherford*, 352 US 805; *Dantzler* v *Callison*, 352 US 939; *Dent* v *West Virginia*, 129 US 114."

The *Taylor* and *Dantzler* cases are also unexplained, *per curiams:* When their history in the lower courts is checked, both they and *Hitchcock* are found to deal with naturopaths. They held that the states might forbid naturopaths from calling themselves doctors.

That leaves *Kovrak* v *Ginsburg*, still another *per curiam*, reading in its entirety: "The motion to dismiss is granted and the appeal is dismissed for want of a substantial federal question." That case is found to hold that a lawyer admitted in the District of Columbia and allowed to practice in the federal courts in Pennsylvania, but not admitted to the bar of Pennsylvania, had no right to hold himself out as a Pennsylvania lawyer.

The net of the five cited cases thus seems to be that a state may impose qualifications for the practice of professions – but only reasonable, meaningful qualifications. The *Schware* decision makes it plain that the Supreme Court is ready to say what is or is not reasonable. Which brings us back to the very question here without having advanced a step: Do the Kansas rules have, in the language of the *Schware* case, "a rational connection with the applicant's fitness or capacity to practice law"?

The next sentence of the opinion relies on the reasons given by the Kansas Supreme Court for its rules. Those were that outstate lawyers tended to be unfamiliar with local procedures and to be unavailable for service of legal process, so that it was desirable "to provide litigants with the service of a resident attorney familiar with local rules, procedure and practice and upon whom service may be had in all matters."

The trouble with those reasons, Mr. Justice Douglas tellingly pointed out in his dissent, is that they have nothing to do with this case. For Mr. Martin, according to the unchallenged facts, is precisely a "resident attorney familiar with local rules, procedure and practice and upon whom service may be had in all matters."

The final sentence and citation stand for the proposition that a state may make a reasonable general rule and enforce it even though it incidentally treats some individuals unequally. That is, the state need not draft a rule so subtle and complex that it takes account of every individual case.

Thus, for example, Kansas might have a rule that a man could not be considered a "resident attorney" unless he had a law office in Kansas. A lawyer without an office might argue that he was just as attuned to local needs as another man with one, but the state could fairly be allowed to enforce its simple rule against him on the ground of convenience – so as not to have to weigh all sorts of lawyers' competence in local practice.

But, again, that is not the case.

The Court never does say why the Kansas rules have a rational connection with Mr. Martin's fitness to practice law in Kansas. Because it does not, its decision is extremely difficult to criticize or even discuss. There could be many different reasons for finding the Kansas rules constitutional as applied to Mr. Martin – some perhaps adequate reasons, others not. Unless the Court discloses the reasons on which it relies, no one can really judge the correctness of the result.

Anyone criticizing an opinion in this way is promptly, and correctly, reminded of the difficulties under which the Court labors – the shortage of time, the possibility that no majority could be found to support any single rationale. But surely such excuses are not adequate. Surely it would be better to spend more time working out an explanation acceptable to a majority – or even to have multiple opinions disagreeing on the reasons for a result – than to have no explanation at all.

What light can a decision like this one shed on the real problems of federalism inherent in the Kansas rules? Has the public been educated or the bar of the country informed? Can Mr. Martin feel satisfied that his case had full and fair consideration?

"Such a decision," Professors Bickel and Wellington wrote in 1957 of another case, "does not attempt to gain reasoned acceptance for the result, and thus does not make law in the sense which the term 'law' must have in a democratic society."

The comment fits the case of Keith Martin.



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# Doing Good in Latin America

## *Can the Alliance Make Fast Enough Progress?*

*by Samuel Shapiro*

Let me jot down the facts in shorthand. The list below classifies the 20 Latin American republics according to per capita national income; the parentheses show the principal exports of nations receiving more than half their export earnings from two products. For purposes of comparison, per capita annual income in the United States is above $2,200.

*Per capita national income less than $100*
Bolivia (Tin and lead, 71 percent)
Haiti (Coffee and sisal, 80 percent)

*Per capita national income $100-$199*
Brazil (Coffee and cacao, 64 percent)
Dominican Republic (Sugar and cacao, 65 percent)
Ecuador (Bananas and coffee, 75 percent)
Guatemala (Coffee and bananas, 85 percent)
Honduras (Bananas and coffee, 70 percent)
Nicaragua (Coffee and cotton, 73 percent)
Paraguay
Peru
El Salvador (Coffee and cotton, 88 percent)

*Per capita national income $200-$299*
Colombia (Coffee and oil, 92 percent)
Costa Rica (Coffee and bananas, 86 percent)
Cuba (Sugar and tobacco, 83 percent)
Mexico
Panama (Bananas and cacao, 72 percent)

*Per capita national income $300-$699*
Argentina
Chile (Copper and nitrates, 76 percent)
Uruguay (Wool and meat, 68 percent)

*Per capita national income over $700*
Venezuela (Oil, 92 percent)

These statistics still understate Latin American poverty, because they do not indicate the extremely uneven distribution of national incomes. Most of these nations have a small group of well-to-do landlords, businessmen, politicians and military officers; the mere beginnings of a middle class; and masses of landless peasants and underemployed or unemployed slum-dwellers who exist somehow on incomes measured in pennies. The annual income of Simon I. Patiño, for example, was for some years as large as the budget of the Bolivian Government; the private fortunes of the Trujillo family in the Dominican Republic, and the Somoza brothers in Nicaragua are larger than the national income of their countries. In Venezuela, the oil boom has created dozens of millionaires and stranded hundreds of thousands of unemployed slum-dwellers on the outskirts of Maracaibo and Caracas. As the statistics show, Venezuela is by far the "wealthiest" nation in Latin America; but two-thirds of its population is illiterate; 300,000 farmers are without land; two percent of the rural population owns 74 percent of the farmland. Despite dollar revenues of 100 million a month, President Betancourt has had to devalue the *bolivar*, and would be bankrupt without a steady series of emergency loans from abroad.

The causes of this poverty in the Americas are, with minor variations, the same. With few exceptions every nation is plagued by misuse of capital, overspecialization in one or two minerals or agricultural products for export, a social structure that is, as Sen. Mike Mansfield puts it, "seriously out of date," poor roads, railways, bridges and communications, an archaic system of land tenure, and governments that are generally authoritarian, unstable, inefficient and corrupt – sometimes all four at once. Half of Latin America's school-age children are not in school, and only one in 20 completes a grade school education; in the mountain regions there are millions of Indians who do not even speak the official language of their country.

Given these almost overwhelming problems, complicated by the pressure of a population increase of 2.6 percent a year – one of the highest of any major area in the world – we should be able to understand why so many Latin American labor leaders, leftist politicians and young intellectuals are coming to feel that gradual democratic reforms are inadequate, that a Castro-style social revolution is the only way to get moving. While each Latin American country is distinct by

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reason of local variations in geography and economic development, and by the impact of individual personalities (always important in Hispanic countries), it is possible to classify them according to the political stage they have reached. Readers who are familiar with the intricacies of Latin American politics will, I hope, excuse the necessary blurring of distinctions that such a listing requires.

*Old Style Caudillo Regimes* –The paternalistic *caudillo*, a modern counterpart of the medieval duke or count, has been a familiar fixture in Latin America since the wars of independence. He generally owns large tracts of lands, has a share of many basic industries, and runs his country as if it were his personal property. He treats his people like children in need of his constant severe tutelage, and he is often able to pass power on to his sons at his death. This form survives today only in small and backward nations like Paraguay, Haiti and Nicaragua. The situation in the Dominican Republic is still obscure. The Trujillo brothers are out for the moment, but whether they return or who finally wins effective command of the government remains to be seen. The last *caudillo* to control a major Latin American republic was Juan Vicente Gomez of Venezuela, who died in 1935. (The demagogic *caudillo*, like Argentina's Juan Perón, who appealed to labor movements and sponsored some social reforms, is a separate type.) The three surviving caudilloships are all shaky. The Kennedy Administration has continued arms shipments to General Stroessner in Paraguay, renewed an agreement to maintain a Marine training mission in Duvalier's Haiti, and continues to prop up the threatened regime of Luis Somoza Debayle in Nicaragua; we deprived the Dominican Republic of its extra share of the Cuban sugar quota only under great pressure, and to the accompaniment of loud protests of Senators Ellender and Smathers. Some of these remaining *caudillo* regimes have survived for very long periods of time; the Somoza clan has run Nicaragua since 1937. But the tide is running strong the other way, and it does not seem likely that any of the *caudillos* will enjoy a tranquil reign much longer.

*Conservative Regimes with Some Degree of Political Democracy* – Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Panama, Ecuador, Chile and Peru fall into this category. Each has more or less passed permanently out of the *caudillo* stage; they are ruled by elected presidents, and political opposition is relatively unhampered. But political and economic power is still in the hands of oligarchies like the "Twenty Families" of Panama and "*La Llamada*" (the so-called aristocracy) of Peru. In each country a small group monopolizes political and military office, owns most of the available farmland, and fights off popular encroachments upon its power or prestige; politics tends to be a struggle for position among a few thousand wealthy individuals. There are signs of a desire for radical change in all of these countries, and popular dissatisfaction is certain to grow.

*Newly-Established Liberal Regimes* – During the past decade Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela, a group including the most important nations in the area, have emerged from dictatorial rule. In each case, however, the dictator left behind a legacy of waste, extravagant and unproductive public works, an empty treasury, and deepened social cleavages. The fall of the dictators was accompanied by, and perhaps partially caused by, a disastrous decline in commodity prices, so that the overspecialized export economies of these nations were severely damaged. Although Brazilian coffee exports rose from 11 million bags in 1954 to 17.5 million in 1959, for example, price declines cut her income from $948 to $750 million; and Brazil depends on coffee for two-thirds of her foreign exchange earnings. Similar figures could be cited for oil, copper, sugar and a number of other commodities. For Latin America as a whole, export earnings in the single year 1958 fell $700 million, and there is as yet no sign of any substantial recovery.

The accidental conjunction of political progress and economic disaster has forced the newly-established and still wobbly democratic regimes to institute austerity programs or turn to inflation, in both cases lowering still further the already low living standards of their people. The largely illiterate and unsophisticated masses have come to associate democracy with soaring prices and hunger; this accounts for the lingering popularity of former dictators like Odría in Peru, Vargas in Brazil, and Perón in Argentina. Another problem common to these nations is the continued influence of the military in politics. Costa Rica abolished her army under the leadership of former President José Figueres, but the armed forces still play a dominant role in political life elsewhere. Argentina's Frondizi, Colombia's Lleras Camargo, and Venezuela's Betancourt would like to reduce their countries' swollen armaments budget; but the generals forbid it. If they do not institute social reforms, they are menaced by a leftist Castro-style uprising; if they do, they may be ousted by an officers' *coup*. The new liberal presidents won office during the past few years by genuine majorities, but their popularity has been eroded. The nations they rule are swept by waves of strikes, terrorist bombings and armed uprisings, and it is problematical if all of them could win re-election today. These nations are, moreover, the most important ones in South America. Venezuela is the largest exporter of iron ore and crude oil in the world; Argentina may yet



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be a minor, and Brazil almost surely a major, world power before the end of the century.

*Revolutionary Regimes* – Bolivia and Cuba are the only nations in this category. Bolivia is so abysmally poor and backward, and so evidently doomed to continued poverty by her barren geography, that the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) is not likely to have any great influence outside the Andean plateau where it now rules. The Cuban revolution, on the other hand, taking place in a much richer and more advanced economy, has already had an immense effect on all Latin America. Part of Cuba's influence is due to the initial success of the revolution in raising the living standard of the farm workers, part of it to the skillful propaganda activities of the *barbudos* (bearded ones), and part of it to the charismatic figure of Fidel Castro himself. "El Gran Fidel" (to give him the title of a Cuban propaganda film that has been exhibited throughout Latin America to great applause) is a typically Hispanic hero – young, handsome, energetic, brave, a superb orator and a bit of a poet – a combination of Don Quixote, Bolívar, Lenin and Ruben Darío. If he were assassinated tomorrow, his personality would still leave a deep impression on all of Latin America; if he lives, and his revolution survives, he will rank with legendary heroes like the Cid and San Martín. As it goes into its third year, Cuba's revolutionary government is entering a trying phase, that of consolidating its power in the face of economic troubles and discontent with the growing political power of the Communists. Its future is unpredictable, for it depends largely upon decisions taken in Washington, Moscow and Peking.

*Post-Revolutionary Regimes* – Mexico and Uruguay are the only Latin American nations that have passed through revolution and emerged with politically durable and relatively prosperous regimes. The revolution in Uruguay, presided over by Battle y Ordóñez and his *Colorado* party before World War I, was peaceful, and patterned along the lines of the New Deal, which it preceded by a generation. Mexico's revolution was long and bloody, and there is still violence on election day. But in both nations the armed forces now have little political influence, and in neither has there been any serious attempt at a *coup* in the past few decades. Since other Latin nations may follow the path of these two, the peculiar one-party system of democracy they have evolved is worth study.

The *Colorado* party of Uruguay ruled uninterruptedly for more than half a century; the opposing *Blancos* won an election for the first time in 1958. The PRI (Institutional Party of the Revolution) has played an even more dominant role in Mexican politics; it has *never* lost an election. Such a party would be considered incompatible with democracy in the United States or Western Europe, but it seems to work fairly well in Mexico. Mexico had an economic growth rate of seven percent last year. Yet even here, as Oscar Lewis points out, "in 1960, over 60 percent of the population are still ill fed, ill clothed, and ill housed, over 40 percent are illiterate, and some 45 percent of the nation's children are not being schooled."

As I have shown, only two of the 20 Latin American republics have developed comparatively stable political institutions, and it is no coincidence that these two are among the most prosperous. Two other countries are now passing through the fires of revolution, and in every one of the remaining 16 a major social upheaval is either likely or at least possible in the near future. Preceding the actual revolution is the "revolution of rising expectations": unemployed slum-dwellers and landless farm workers become conscious of how much better life is elsewhere. Symptoms of the approaching storm are the uproar in the universities, the popularity of leftist ideologies among the intellectual and professional classes, and the explosive demonstrations of anti-Americanism from the Rio Grande down to the tip of Cape Horn.

Only in the past two years, and in part as a direct consequence of the Cuban revolution, have US policy makers begun realistically to confront these facts and to apply our domestic standard of what is un-American as a way of life to all the Americas. President Kennedy and his advisers, despite their misjudgment in Cuba, clearly do recognize that political stability and economic growth are incompatible with illiteracy, corrupt governments, creaking social structures, and a life expectancy of 45 years. Washington has announced its willingness to join commodity stabilization programs, to make loans to government-owned enterprises, and to provide development funds to any country prepared to "improve its own institutions."

But what a task we have undertaken in the Alliance for Progress! We have called on Latin America's ruling classes to give up some of their wealth and special privileges, but we have no way to compel them to do so. We can only promise – Congress willing – to reward them if they do reform. The badly-managed and underproductive *hacienda*, for example, is not just a source of income; its owner is no more prepared to abandon his way of life voluntarily than the French aristocrat of 1789 or the Southern slaveowner of 1861. Latin diplomats have gone home from Punta del Este to draw up plans for spending Uncle Sam's promised largesse, but tax reforms and land distribution schemes have everywhere been delayed or defeated. The Mexican economist Victor Urquidi has estimated that wealthy Latin Americans have sent abroad between



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$4 billion and $6 billion, while their own countries are desperately short of capital. Real estate and income taxes are far lower than in the US, and are systematically evaded; at a recent gathering of hemispheric tax experts in Buenos Aires, it was estimated that effective collection procedures even at present low rates would bring Latin American governments an additional $3 billion in revenue each year. No Latin government except Castro's has done much to tap these concealed sources of capital. Having got rid of the honest reformer, Jânio Quadros, Brazilian politicians have taken up their pleasant old habits of "remunerated recesses," political jockeying and graft. Despite Mr. Kennedy's laudable intention to help no nation that does not help itself, we have not yet screwed up our courage to deny Alliance funds even to backward and repressive regimes in Haiti, Paraguay or Nicaragua.

Latin America today produces and consumes less food per capita than it did before World War II; its exports have shrunk steadily in purchasing power since 1954. And while the Alliance for Progress has been compared to the Marshall Plan, the skilled workers, the existing technology and the communications network of Europe are not present in Latin America and cannot be called into being at will. It would, therefore, be something near the miraculous were Latin America to achieve, soon, the 2.5 percent per capita increase in annual income spoken of by Secretary Douglas Dillon at Punta del Este.

One may question also our own readiness to make the hard choices that are required by President Kennedy's program. Can Congress be persuaded to vote funds for education in Brazil or Argentina when it has so far proved unwilling to help build schools in Michigan and Massachusetts? Will it vote to raise the price of coffee to its constituents? Can our tariff and quota barriers on Latin American wool, sugar, oil, beef, copper and lead be lowered against the opposition of powerful lobbies? American businessmen have $9 billion at stake in Latin American mines, factories and plantations – one-third of our overseas investment; will we respond to the next revolution against foreign property any more calmly than we did to Castro's? If some method of limiting population growth is not discovered and used, the prospect for any improvement in living standards is bleak; Eisenhower shied away from this issue, and Kennedy may be no more inclined to face up to it squarely.

There are new and noble intentions in Washington that should inspire us with hope. If only there were more time! Unfortunately, as José Figueres has said, "Time is short, Latin America is in a revolutionary mood. It has a great deal to change. It is far too late for a slow-paced revolution."

# Vietnam – The Eleventh Hour

*by Frank C. Child*

A highly-placed US representative in Vietnam has put it succinctly: "We are here for one purpose – to hang on to a piece of real estate." To this end, we have spent over $2.5 billion since 1954 for massive economic and military aid to the government of Ngo Dinh Diem. We continue to support Diem even though the development of democracy has been minuscule, economic progress has flagged, the government's attitude toward the US is more correct than friendly and, most importantly, the portion of the country under Diem's control has been shrinking. Our response to this deterioration has been to reaffirm our backing of Diem and to increase our military aid – or as *The New Republic* of November 6, 1961, put it – to provide "more of the same, but better." That we shall see more of the same seems assured; that it will be better seems unlikely.

It has become clear that Diem can only postpone defeat – he cannot win. Barring a heavy commitment of US troops in Vietnam, an unlikely and unwise move, no amount of US aid will extend the life expectancy of the Diem regime beyond 18 months. We desperately need an alternative.

South Vietnam is a police state with all the normal accouterments of a police state – secret police harassment, arbitrary arrest and police brutality, political

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prisons, economic favoritism, government-sponsored and controlled social organizations, and authority and power based upon personal loyalty. Diem's defenders argue that under present wartime conditions, Western-style democracy would lead to anarchy and be exploited by the Viet Cong Communists. This position, while essentially correct, begs the real issue. From the standpoint of stated US policy, the shortcoming of Diem's regime is not that it is undemocratic; it is that it is a failure. It has neither of the two saving graces of an "acceptable" dictatorship: it is neither benevolent nor efficient. It has managed to alienate virtually the entire population by its tyrannies, large and small; it has not managed to provide satisfactory administration of routine government affairs, minimal economic progress, nor effective military security.

It is commonly held that effective public administration in underdeveloped countries is frustrated by a lack of trained personnel and leaders. This is not the case in Vietnam. The country has a reasonably good supply of highly educated people who could provide adequate leadership in public affairs. The police state features of the regime, however, have made it difficult or impossible to mobilize these resources. Appointment to responsible position is based upon personal loyalty to Diem. The more venal element of the educated elite has thus been attracted to government office. While the routine affairs of government are neglected, government officials exploit their position for personal gain. In their zeal to please Diem, they behave as petty tyrants in dealings with the public. Deputies of the National Assembly (the Saigonese call them "Diem's trained seals") were hand picked and gained office in the fraudulent elections of 1959. The presidential election of 1961 was a travesty.

As a result, those Vietnamese who place a high value on democratic procedures, including many of the Western educated elite, have disassociated themselves from the regime. In return the government frequently prohibits them from using their skills in private endeavor. Harassment by the police (including stake-out of homes, ransacking of offices, arbitrary arrest and confinement) has immobilized those who express any criticism or dissent and even those who fail to be vigorous in their support of Diem. They have been effectively intimidated and are inarticulate and disorganized.

Until recent months, it was a cliché that "Diem is okay but he gets bad advice from the people about him." More recent opinion labels him either a fool or a knave. (Can he really be ignorant of the situation in his country, or within the government?) His Messianic notions about himself and his propensity to identify unfavorable reports or criticism with disloyalty have effectively insulated him from the unpleasant facts. He lives alone in the presidential palace, surrounded by sycophants. He dares leave his residence only if the streets are cleared and he is accompanied by a large military entourage. (In contrast, it is reported by non-Communist observers that Ho Chi Minh travels freely throughout North Vietnam and is greeted with obvious affection by the population despite the drabness of daily life in the North.)

All but the most minor military command appointments are based upon personal loyalty to Diem – not loyalty to Vietnam. Young, able officers are passed over to the benefit of political hacks. Morale in the lower ranks, especially since the battle isn't going well, suffers. When ranking officers are competent and succeed in building an effective fighting unit – a unit with *esprit de corps* and trust in its commander – Diem sees it as a threat to himself rather than a threat to the Viet Cong. The commander is then transferred, or sent to the States for schooling. Diem strictly limits troop movements not previously cleared with his office. "Hot pursuit" of the Viet Cong – which has no arbitrary zones of action – is prohibited.

The military is further handicapped by the lack of cooperation of the rural population, whose greatest desire is to be left alone rather than be caught between opposing groups, lectured, taxed and perhaps physically injured alternately by the Viet Cong and the Vietnam Cong Hoa forces. But in guerrilla warfare, indifference is intolerable. It affords the Viet Cong easy mobility, concealment and supply.

### *Diem's Remoteness from the Country*

To most peasants the central government is something far away in Saigon to which they are expected to pay tax tribute but from which they receive no return save the periodic appearance of government representatives who bring the latest government directive. (Actually, the rural population bears little of the tax burden in Vietnam.) Cooperation with these officials will incur Viet Cong reprisals from which the government cannot protect them. Any limited goodwill gained through the land reform and agricultural credit programs has been more than offset by incompetence and dishonesty of civil servants, army brutality, forced labor service, the breaking up of religious festivals, a policy of undermining village councils, and harassment of minority groups.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a 150,000 man army, 50,000 civil guards and thousands of police were unable to contain the 7,000-8,000 Viet Cong that roamed the countryside in 1960. (Recent estimates place Viet Cong strength at 15,000 while the army of Vietnam now boasts 170,000 men and 60,000 civil guards. Since the army is well equipped and the Viet Cong have limited supplies of more ancient equipment, the manpower ratio understates the advantage of Diem's army.) Diem cannot even take credit for appar-



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ent economic advances in Vietnam. At the end of the "war of independence" the population turned to peaceful pursuits.

Rice land was cultivated; rubber plantations were worked once again; communications and industry were refurbished. Output could only rise. At least until early 1961 the Viet Cong did not interfere seriously with production and trade. Today, economic development is inhibited not by lack of resources but by lack of effort and an inept administration. The rich *and the government* hoard their resources rather than invest in economic growth. American aid is administered in a fashion which guarantees the economic and political position of the rich mercantile class which is most vigorously opposed to economic progress. A 3 percent annual population growth and a grossly unequal distribution of income together with modest increases in national output portend falling living standards and further popular discontent.

### *Is Diem Worth Saving?*

The clock is at the eleventh hour. The Viet Cong has long been entrenched in the Mekong delta. It has had the ability to take, and hold for short periods, any particular area or city. It has now extended its operations, on an increasing scale, into the mountains and into the northern coastal plain. As "incidents" become larger and occur closer to Saigon the government intensifies its efforts by further mobilization and further repression of the population. Diem has not and cannot mobilize the population, yet nothing short of an all-out effort can succeed. Two highly-placed and able Vietnamese officials who have continued to support Diem as the only available leader in the fight against the Viet Cong were visibly shaken last May when Vice President Johnson, visiting in Saigon, characterized Vietnam as a "bastion of freedom and progress" and compared Diem favorably to Winston Churchill. These men feel strongly that internal reform and new leadership are prerequisite to a successful military effort. Given their present sense of isolation within the government, the apparent lack of official American understanding of their situation, and the lack of "conditions" attached to continued US support, all drive them to despair.

It may already be too late. Projecting the present trend, South Vietnam will surely fall to the Viet Cong in 12-18 months. Perhaps, as a number of US representatives in Vietnam have said, we have no choice but to play out the game with our present partner. If this conclusion is correct, we might be well advised, therefore to devote the next year to "minimizing our losses" by disassociating ourselves from the Diem regime before it collapses.

But there is another choice: it is to reorder the priorities of our proposals for Vietnam. Reform – political, economic and administrative – is the crucial prerequisite to effective use of aid and the services of technicians. Reform should be the prior condition for the granting of further aid.

US representatives in Saigon, and presumably our officials in Washington, have consistently rejected the suggestion that we attach "strings" to our assistance on the grounds that we cannot interfere in the internal affairs of a friendly country. This is fatuous argument. We clearly interfere extensively in Vietnamese affairs. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent and hundreds of technicians have been sent to Vietnam to insure that the situation there will be different than would otherwise have been the case. We have simply given up the right to influence the *way* in which the situation will be different as a result of our assistance. But we are assigned the responsibility for what happens anyway. We might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb. Not another dollar, not a single new piece of equipment, not a single new technician should be sent to Vietnam before we see tangible outward evidence of "good behavior" by the Diem Government. A "hard" US line will certainly be welcomed by responsible Vietnamese, in and out of government.

This course of action carries the serious risk that Diem will refuse; he may choose to travel alone to oblivion. But it is the only course of action which offers any chance of success so long as Diem remains in power. If we can convince him that we are not bluffing, he may even acquiesce.

There remains, perhaps, one other alternative. Last November a group of colonels and majors led some paratroops in a sort of *coup d'etat*. It was a "sort of" *coup* in the sense that their goal was not to displace Diem but to replace certain cabinet members and other advisers and to induce him to eliminate political control over the military establishment. Confident of their own ability to defeat the Viet Cong, they demanded the right to conduct military operations on the basis of military considerations. They wanted to be apolitical. Indeed, their limited objectives and their lack of political affiliation were the crucial factors in their defeat. The *coup* leaders did not "go for broke." They had victory in their hands but ceased their attack and settled for negotiations.

The incident is a symptom of the discontent within the military establishment. The basis for this discontent remains. It is conceivable that another military *coup* will occur and even succeed, provided (1) that the leaders go all-out militarily and actually seize power and (2) that they establish appropriate connections among opposition political leaders. For there are able and intelligent men in Vietnam who could provide effective leadership and even capture the imagination of the population. A military *coup* may be the only means by which this leadership could be brought to the fore.



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# *The Emergence of Negro Africa*

*by William Chapman*

The recent flood of popular Africana has produced far too many superficial books. The publishers' mainstay has been the journalistic survey which skips swiftly from country to country, outlining Major Problems and glimpsing the more important politicians. Each points out that the future is dark in South Africa, that the Belgians have not done well by the Congolese and that Kwame Nkrumah is not running the purest sort of democracy in Ghana. James Cameron's *The African Revolution* is disappointingly true to that tradition. It begins with the inevitable chapter entitled "Wind of Change" and races from here to there with bewildering speed. Some crude calculations indicate that he has allotted an average of about 1,600 words, the equivalent of two newspaper columns, to each country. One could excuse it as a "general introduction" if there were not already too many of them around.

*The African Revolution*
by James Cameron
(Random House; $3.95)

*Africa – Angry Young Giant*
by Smith Hempstone
(Praeger; $7.95)

*Jomo Kenyatta*
by George Delf
(Doubleday; $3.95)

*I Speak of Freedom*
by Kwame Nkrumah
(Praeger; $4.95)

*South African Predicament*
by F. P. Spooner
(Praeger; $5)

It is a relief, therefore, to find a book like Smith Hempstone's excellent *Africa – Angry Young Giant* in the fall lists. An American journalist benefitting from an anonymous donor's grant, Hempstone covered 26 countries and wrote about them perceptively and in great depth. He went beyond the capitals and the politicians to reach the people and the result is a most vivid portrait of the restless lands north of the Congo and south of the Sahara. The text suffers slightly from an overdose of detached statistics and from a hint of the worst journalese. (For example: Many Somali women "bear within them a bacillus which merely chuckles when confronted with a million units of penicillin.")

Hempstone was led to the balanced conclusion that the New Africa neither will become model democracies nor fall backward into tribalism. There is "a new synthesis in the making . . . an 'Afrocratic' system which utilizes the form but not the substance of democracy and draws much of its inspiration from indigenous institutions." The common government will be a popular dictatorship which restricts speech and the press for the supposed good of the community. But: "Africa wants not democracy but the right to rule or misrule herself, not an efficient civil service but a black one, not ballot boxes but the essential self-respect of political freedom, even at the cost of personal liberty." What Africans want most, Hempstone concludes, "is to be recognized as *men*, not democrats."

The immense challenge to any biographer of Jomo Kenyatta is reconciling the two distinct Kenyattas which stick in the public mind like an allegorical painting of good and evil. There is the amiable, scholarly Kenyatta in England, writing an inspired dissertation on his Kikuyus. Then there is the maddened savage who, according to his prosecutors, reverted to tribal atrocities and abetted the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya. George Delf, a young British writer living in Kenya, rises to the challenge with courage in a limited study of the man who will probably lead Kenya's independent government.

Kenyatta returned to Nairobi in 1946 after 16 years in Europe a mature, optimistic man. Convinced that independence and black-white partnership could be won through non-violent means, he set out upon a sort of talking war to ease the settlers out of power. He quickly discovered that the settlers had doubled in numbers during his absence, had seized more of the Kikuyu's White Highlands and had construed independence to be only a method of freeing themselves from a meddling Colonial Office. As Kenyatta began putting together a political organization, he found many intelligent members of the younger generation, former mission boys like himself, con-

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sumed in bitter hatred, existing in a chaotic vacuum between the tribal values they had left and the white society which scorned them. These were the bitter young men who, in 1950, began the fierce blood-letting and oath-enforcing which became Mau Mau. Kenyatta, Delf believes, either was unable to control this vicious element in his following or, more likely, felt that only a display of violence would move the colonials from behind their color bar. By tolerating their desperate deeds, he became deeply entangled with them and paid for their infantilism with the years in confinement which have just ended.

Kwame Nkrumah recently jailed forty-nine Ghanians whose offense was to suggest that his wisdom is not infallible. He will choose the judges to try them and will define the court's procedures. He is drafting legislation making it a crime for anyone to do or say anything tending to ridicule him or bring him into contempt. All this is hereby reported to encourage a measure of skepticism among readers picking up his book, *I Speak of Freedom.* It should be quickly realized that "freedom," in Nkrumah's lexicon, means national independence and does not extend to civil liberties.

It is doubtful that Nkrumah could have done himself a greater disservice than to publish this book. It can only enlarge the image of him as a vain, ambitious, self-righteous and garrulous man. A collection of his speeches and writings since his return to the Gold Coast in 1947, it abounds with statements like, "I stood up in the car so that all could see me; the cheers of the crowds made me very happy" and "I have the happiest memories of my stay in Liberia. I shall never forget the wild enthusiasm of the crowds at the mass meeting held at the Centennial Pavilion in Monrovia, when I delivered an impromptu speech." The monarchs of old had their court historians to glorify their reigns; Nkrumah, at least, does it himself.

F. P. Spooner is a white South African who endeavors to calculate and analyze the precise depth of poverty to which Africans in his country have been forced. His researches show, for example, that the per-family income of



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Africans in 1954-55 was 145 pounds as compared with 1,616 pounds for the whites. This is a little like measuring the heat in Hell and were it not for a few incisive commentaries on the workings of the Nationalists' Republic, *South African Predicament* could be filed away with old UNESCO reports.

Spooner believes that apartheid is economically impossible and is going to cause a revolution, something that he, as a loyal opponent of the Nationalists, would like to avoid. The government's policy until now, he writes, has not been *apartheid*, which means territorial segregation of blacks and whites, but *baaskaap*, or the subjugation of blacks by whites to keep the wheels of industry turning. The new Bantustans, or native settlements, will fail because the Africans have no means of beginning a separate development and the government persists in the absurb proposition that the money will come from the Africans' savings! Despite some overwhelming evidence, Spooner does not think his government is really this stupid or cruel and maintains that happier days are in store. He envisions a multi-racial society in which the natives will be given tools to raise their living standards and even enjoy a measure of political representation. Unfortunately, he has not the slightest evidence that such a change is in the wind.

# *Rayner Heppenstall, Francophile*

*by Frank J. Warnke*

The blurb-writer calls *The Fourfold Tradition* "an exceptionally clear view of the evolution of French and English literature since the 13th Century." The author, more discreetly, calls it "Notes on the French and English literatures, with some ethnological and historical asides." It is a fruit-cake of a book – rich, varied, and more than a little nutty. Taken as a reasoned exposition of literary history, it can only be regarded as an eccentric joke; taken as a personal diary of helter-skelter literary and cultural impressions, it mingles insight with ignorance and perception with prejudice. At his best in his sharp analyses of such contemporary novelists as C. P. Snow, Kingsley Amis, Nathalie Sarraute, and Alain Robbe-Grillet, Mr. Heppenstall is at his staggering worst when he undertakes the broad historical assertion, for example, the contention that "Anglo-Saxon" was not an early form of English, or that there is no such thing as a Celt (I tried, without success, to figure out what the author had to say about the Gaelic, Irish, and Welsh languages).

*The Fourfold Tradition*
by Rayner Heppenstall
(New Directions; $4.50)

*The Greater Infortune*
by Rayner Heppenstall
(New Directions; $3.75)

For some reason the author finds it necessary, in his elucidation of Anglo-French literary tradition, to dismiss the claims to continuous greatness made by any other literatures. Thus we are told that, shortly after the death of Dante, "Italian poets began to abandon the literary language Dante had created and to return to Latin." So much for Petrarch, Boccaccio, Poliziano, Boiardo, and company. Or we are told, with the same airiness, that "there was no German literary language until Luther."

The major and the minor shockers in *The Fourfold Tradition* seem to spring from the same warp in the author's sensibility – a francophilia as pervasive as it is complete. One ends with the feeling that Mr. Heppenstall rather wishes he were a French writer instead of an English one, and that the contemplation of the rich cross-fertilization the two literatures have undergone affords him a satisfaction only less deep than that produced by the fact that for some three medieval centuries the literary language of England was French. Literary francophilia, a harmless and often productive tendency of the spirit, was especially marked in Mr. Heppenstall's generation, which came to maturity between the two wars. Unfortunately, though perhaps under-


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standably, francophilia often had, for that generation, a frantic germanophobia as its corollary, and *The Fourfold Tradition* is not free of the disease. Mr. Heppenstall properly scolds the newer English writers for their self-satisfied provincialism, but one wonders if the spirit is greatly liberated if its borders are expanded beyond the Channel and the Cheviots only to be drawn anew at the Rhine and the Pyrenees.

It is a pity that Heppenstall devotes so much energy to trying to establish the unestablishable, for the second theme of his book – that both England and France possess two clear literary traditions each, one orthodox, centered in the capital, and bound to the Establishment, the other non-conformist, alien to the capital, and ultimately revolutionary – is worth more sustained study than his Gallic King Charles' head allows him to give it.

*The Greater Infortune* is very much what its author would call a "second-tradition novel," as well as being what he might feel is a French novel – in its studiously experimental prose, its concentration on the inner life, and its traditional subject matter: the experiences of a sensitive young man adrift in the impersonal, perhaps hostile world of a great city. The novel is set in 1939, in London. Its narrator, Leckie, is a singularly unhappy and haunted young man, despite his possession of a wife who is, apparently, quite nice, and faculties which ought, presumably, to enable him to make a bearable life for himself. But Leckie is, *in extremis*, suffering from what Renaissance medicine would diagnose as melancholia. Born under Saturn, he is pursued by fantasies of uncleanliness, by a superstitious fear of falling masonry, and, in general, by that chronic apathy of the spirit which traditional theology calls *acedia*. The heavy element, earth, dominates his constitution.

The first half of the novel, with its evocation of Leckie's incapacity for accepting the conditions of life, has considerable power. His compulsive astrological calculations, his cloacal obsession, his aimlessness – all contribute to an offbeat characterization which is, if clinical, unmistakably alive. The other lost souls off whom he caroms in his wanderings – his rich homosexual patron Richard St. Hilda, the gentle wrestler Joe Passiful (Passiful-Parsifal, the pure fool? Perhaps, but *The Fourfold Tradition* assures us that there was no German literature before Luther!) – have a comparable vitality, and the total picture of a sick society moving toward war is rendered even more sinister by touches of grotesque humor.

The second half of the novel is a disappointment. The affirmative gestures with which it ends – the birth of Leckie's child, and Leckie's entering the army – seem tacked on without any tonal relation to the early part of the book. Finally, the novel seems not much more than a partially successful working-over of themes and attitudes explored with more passion as well as more vigor by the great writers of the 1920's – by Gide, by Kafka, by Joyce. In *The Fourfold Tradition* Mr. Heppenstall rightly censures the flat style and the narrow interests of many of the newer English novelists, and his praise of Beckett suggests that a Joyce-derived tradition of avant-garde writing remains his standard of judgment. But history has a way, on both sides of the Channel, of turning *avant* into *arrière*, and *The Greater Infortune* is, for all its workmanship and all its concern with the bizarre, ultimately derivative.


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Those who love Berlioz's music cherish his *L'Enfance du Christ,* but without accepting W. J. Turner's estimate of it as Berlioz's most beautiful score: it is in the earlier *Les Nuits d'Été, Romeo and Juliet* and *The Damnation of Faust* that Berlioz's powers operate incandescently to produce his most beautiful writing. In *L'Enfance du Christ* Part 1 is in the bland style of much of his late writing; but in the Overture of Part 2 one begins to hear the individual Berlioz mind in fascinating operation; and this is followed by the lovely *Shepherds' Farewell* and *Rest of the Holy Family,* and by moving and beau-

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

William Chapman *is a reporter for* The Washington Post. Frank J. Warnke *is on the English faculty of the University of Washington.*



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tiful passages in Part 3: the Narrator's description of the journey to Sais, Joseph's appeals for refuge, and the conclusion. London OL-50201/2 (mono) and SOL-60032/3 (stereo) offer an excellent new performance conducted by Colin Davis, with Peter Pears and Elsie Morison among other soloists, the St. Anthony Singers and the Goldsborough Orchestra. On two machines my copy of the stereo version reproduced Pears' voice with distortion; on a third it did not.

As for *The Damnation of Faust*, I don't receive Deutsche Grammophon records for review, but having bought 138099/100 (stereo) I can report the outstanding excellence of Markevitch's performance of that work. Michel Roux hasn't the voice for an impressive Mephistopheles; but Richard Verreau, the Faust, and Consuelo Rubio, the Marguerite, are wholly satisfying; and the performance is raised to its high level of distinction by the conducting of Markevitch, with a control that is evident in the pacing of the work and in the superb playing that he gets from the Lamoureux Orchestra.

Mozart's Piano Concerto K.466, with its opening movement that is one of his most powerful utterances, and its incandescent perpetuum-mobile finale, and the Concerto K.491, with its magnificent opening movement, are played by Clara Haskil with the Lamoureux Orchestra under Markevitch on Epic LC-3798 and BC-1143. The combination of strength and sensitiveness in her enunciation of the piano's first statements in K.466 continues to make her playing in the two works highly satisfying, except in the finale of K.466, which calls for a driving momentum and energy that she doesn't provide (she omits the cadenza indicated in this movement). The piano, as recorded, obscures orchestral detail that should be heard.

B. H. HAGGIN

# Correspondence

## The Wages of the Harvesters

*Sirs:*

Asher Bryne's review of *The Harvesters* (November 6) closes with a serious error of fact. In the last sentence of his review, Mr. Brynes states that farmworkers receive an average of a dollar an hour. This is absolutely wrong. Most authorities set the national average wage at 75 to 85 cents an hour for farm work. While this variance from Mr. Brynes' figures would not be worthy of mention under ordinary circumstances, it is extremely important that there be cognizance of the actual hourly wage of our farmworkers who earn an average of only $1,000 per year apiece.

As noted in the review, the only federal legislation creating a minimum wage in agriculture is the Sugar Act. Rates vary from state to state. According to background data prepared for Senator Williams' (D, N.J.) Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, Washington has a wage scale of $1.25 an hour as compared with 47 cents for South Carolina, 67 cents in Georgia, and 52 cents in Tennessee. The *New York Times* (July 16, 1961) reported that prevailing wage rates posted in employment offices in Arkansas ranged from 30 to 50 cents an hour. Our own state of California is said to have a prevailing scale at about 90 cents.

*Arthur Brunwasser*
*Emergency Committee to Aid Farm Workers*
*Los Angeles, California*

*In reply:*

According to the US Department of Agriculture farm workers earned 97 cents an hour, or almost a dollar on average, in 1960. Mr. Brunwasser does give the average annual income of such workers correctly at about $1,000 per annum, but he omits to mention the fact that they worked an average of about 155 days through that year (the exact figures are 143 and 165 days for migratory and non-migratory workers, respectively). In the one case in which such wages may be raised by federal administrative decision, that is, by the Secretary of Agriculture under the provisions of the Sugar Act, the power has been unused to all practical intent. Last September, for instance, the Secretary determined that a "fair and reasonable wage" for sugar workers on farms in Florida was a dollar an hour for men operating mechanical equipment, and 90 cents per hour for hoe and other hand tool wielders.

*Asher Brynes*


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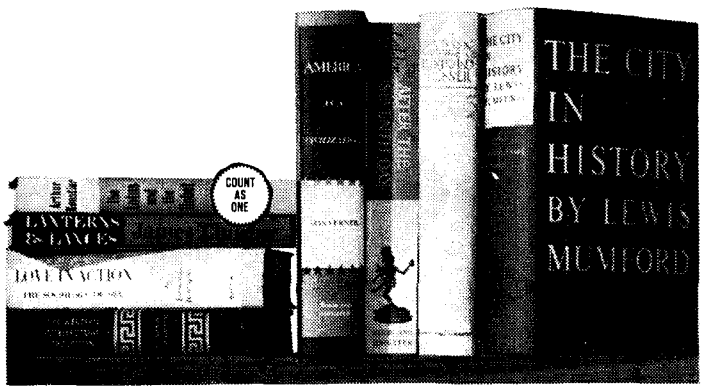


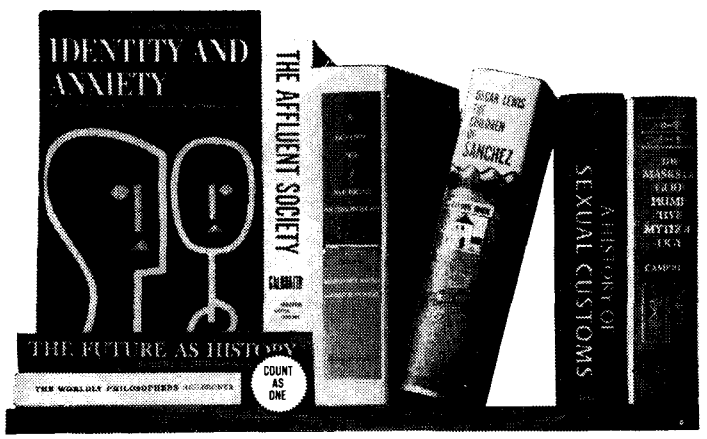


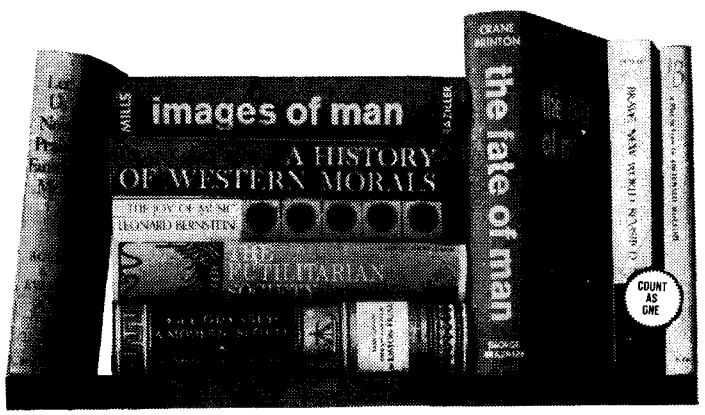


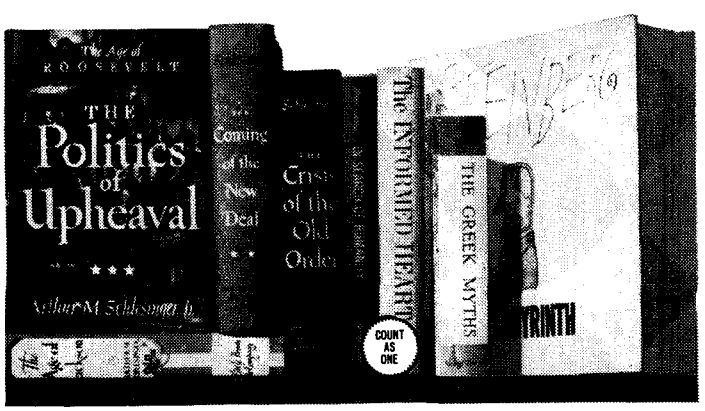
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